

THE FELLĀḤIN OF UPPER EGYPT

792 During the sheikh 'Abdu l-Laṭīf's lifetime he was visited on one occasion by the sheikh Sulimān, who resided in a village some miles distant. Wherever he went the sheikh Sulimān was always accompanied by his faithful servant. On the occasion of this visit the two sheikhs conversed together in an unknown language. This roused the curiosity of the sheikh Sulimān's servant, who after the interview asked his master what they had been talking about. The sheikh told him that 'Abdu l-Laṭīf had remonstrated with him for coming to his village and had bade him remain in his own neighbourhood. Doubtless jealousy was at the root of this ill-feeling.

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785 A few days later the servant noticed very early in the morning that his master's fingers were all burned at the tips. He immediately questioned him as to the cause of this injury, and the sheikh told him that it was his custom to go every night to all the sheikhs' tombs in the neighbourhood and light candles for them, and that while he was engaged in this pious work his fingers were burned.

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766 The sheikh Sulimān is now dead, but his piety is still remembered. He is buried in his native village, but six other tombs are erected to his memory in various parts of the country. Moreover, the inhabitants of his village hold a *mūlid* every year in his honour.

792 In one of the provinces in Upper Egypt, close to the desert hills, lived the sheikheh Ṣulūḥ. This woman had, during her lifetime, a great reputation for holiness, and people flocked to her, in times of difficulty, from all quarters. Her skin was very dark from constant exposure to the sun, and her head, on which she wore no veil, was covered with a crop of hair, thick and long like the wool of a sheep; from beneath her brows peered dark, sharp-looking eyes. Her clothes were scanty, consisting merely of a piece of linen rag and a sort of coat. She remained out in this desert solitude all day, and at night, so I was told, slept alone "in the mountain." As I have explained, the people call the often precipitous high-desert hills the mountain (*el-gebel*), so she probably took shelter in one of the natural or artificial caves which exist in great numbers in the hillsides.

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685 On one occasion, when a number of men and women had come to consult her, one of the former asked her what had become of his most valuable camel, which he had lost. The sheikheh at once told him the exact hour in which this loss had occurred, and in-

a mat, they listen to the *maadān*, or preacher, as he reads them a chapter from the Koran. F
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On Sundays the Christian fellahen attend the interminable Coptic mass. But here worship is more of a family affair, and women take part in the prayers and chants. F
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The Moslems do not understand the literary dialect of the Koran, neither do the Christians understand the Coptic language of their mass. All the fellahen from one end of Egypt to the other speak what is called 'the vulgar tongue', i.e. colloquial Arabic. This is a dialect differing a great deal in its vocabulary from those of Syria and Morocco. In Egypt there is no distinct dialect in this or that province, but only a number of variant words and expressions, and, in the South, a more guttural pronunciation, which betrays the Upper Egyptian. C
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Fasting is strictly observed by the Moslems in Ramadan and by the Copts in Lent. The former during the holy month abstain from all eating and drinking from dawn to sunset. The latter, for about two hundred days of the year, eat nothing from midnight to midday. F
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Almsgiving is another obligation which the fellahen do not neglect. Within the limits of their means they fulfil it ungrudgingly, not in money but in kind. They make gifts to the blind, to ministers of religion, and to those poorer than themselves; and this in addition to regular and compulsory presents. F
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On the other hand, few fellahen make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and if they do, it is at the price of heroic sufferings. The happy pilgrim, on his return after six or eight months' absence, bringing blessings from the holy places to his village, is welcomed like one coming back from the dead. His pious achievement marks him out from the rest, and his children share his renown. He is henceforward always addressed by the title of "*Hagg*" and his pilgrimage is commemorated on the walls of his house. On the white-washed front the crude outlines of men, carriages and ships are painted, with his name and the date. The same customs are observed by Coptic fellahen who have visited Jerusalem, and thus earned the titled of "*Muqaddis*". C
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More frequented and more popular than the mosque, because there is no distinction of age or sex, is the tomb of F
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The Kūdiya and her followers stay overnight. About 10.00 A.M. the next morning the possessed woman takes a bird or fowl in her hand, or rides on a goat, sheep or camel, thus establishing physical contact with the animal to be sacrificed, then she walks seven times round the offering table. If she is too ill to do so, the Kūdiya will pass the birds or fowl seven times over the patient's head. During this procedure the drums are beaten, incense burnt, and "Sagharid", i.e. joyful shouts, uttered by the women. They are produced by putting the tongue between the lips, moving it rapidly and uttering shrill vibrating shouts.

Then the Kūdiya or one of her assistants kills the bird or other sacrificial animal near the table, the animal's blood is carefully collected in a porcelain or ceramic plate, into which the amulets and a round silver piece are placed. The silver piece bears on one side the following inscription: "Due to the permission of the daughter of the king of the earth." On the other side is written: "Oh my masters be content with me!" This silver piece is called "Eia-El-A' qd" or pact, i.e. treaty between the possessed person and the spirit. The patient will then be smeared with blood on the aching parts. The sacrificed animals are cooked, with the exception of their intestines, heart and liver.

In the afternoon the patient is bathed wearing amulets and jewelry. She then enters the hall in a majestic procession while the music plays and sits down beside the offering table. The hall is well prepared; all furniture is cleared away, mats are put on the floor and cushions placed along the wall for the guests. The Kūdiya and the musical band sit near the center wall. In the middle of the room is the offering table. When the patient sits down to it, the Kūdiya uncovers it. Three, five or seven ladies who had performed a Zar before, give the patient three pieces of bread with sour milk and one piece of cooked intestines. The patient eats this while the women will say: " 'Afia we bourhan" (health and proof) (13). The offerings

(13) It means apparently: "You have fulfilled your obligations towards the spirits, let this Zar contribute towards your recovery and be it a proof of your loyalty."

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who beat their instruments over the head of the victim until she loses her last restraint and also joins the hysterical group and eventually falls down totally exhausted. But still the demonic dancer goes round looking for new victims until there is no one left who can still dance. The music fades away and in one quarter of an hour the place is silent again. When a lady is exhausted and about to fall down, she is immediately helped by one of the assistants who hurries to lay her down, presses her head and says: "I swear to you King of the earth to forgive this patient and am ready to fulfill all your demands." The women who had been dancing utter some strange words in the Zar language which will be discussed later.

After a short interval music and dancing will start again with each band playing for about one hour. The women change into the clothes demanded by every individual spirit. This will go on until midnight or 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning.

Six days later the Kūdiya again goes to the patient's house. In the afternoon she prepares a small kurst with sour milk and different kinds of sweets. Candles are lit until bed-time. Bukhur is prepared the next day and the Kūdiya unties the handkerchief. During the following year a goat or sheep must be sacrificed.

/87/ Conclusions:

1. The word: Etymologically the word Zar seems to be derived from the Arabic "Zara" = or "Ziyara" = a visit. It is probably an Arabic loan-word derived from the ancient Agao religion of the Pagan Kushites of Abyssinia, whose sky-god was called "Zar." This word is also used by the Christian Abyssinians to denote evil spirits.

Dr. Cerulli tells us that in Abyssinia the worship of the gods of the Kushitic tribes was continued by the conquerors who only later in history brought about some changes. These gods became minor deities or nature spirits, while their former place was occupied by the gods of the conquerors; thus it happened that

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to be masculine, the Tambura feminine (19). Scant knowledge of the bands in Abyssinia forbids further discussion.

- d. The sultans: As we have seen there are various groups of sultans in Egypt. In Abyssinia it is believed that living beings are haunted by former Gods degraded to a minor status. In the Sudan it is nearly the same as in Egypt with regard to local spirits, i.e. "Timsah" (crocodile) Turia, Nas-El-Gebal (Turia the people of the mountains) (20).

4. The ceremony: The method of determining the special spirits is different in Egypt and the Sudan. In Abyssinia and the Sudan the Kūdiya orders the musical band to play a special tune for every spirit and the patient sits quietly until she suddenly stands up and begins to dance. This is taken as a sign that the tune of the spirit has inspired and compelled her to dance. The ceremony itself is quite the same as in Egypt, including the demands of the spirits. In Abyssinia blood of the sacrificed animal is drunk. In the Sudan sweets and the bones of the animal are thrown into the river.
5. The Zar-language: There is a special Zar-language to which some Arabic words are added. It seems likely that the Zar-language is a combination of Amharic, Galla and Old-Aethiopian, the dominating language is, however, Amharic. (21)

The Zar, as we can see now, is either a very old practice and belief in the whole area of North-East Africa, or it might have come from Abyssinia. Basically it is formed on the fear of the unintelligible world /89/ and psychological phenomena; it satisfies the unseen powers by offerings. The violent and barbaric dance betrays a very strong African influence, especially the dominance of the

(19) Zenkovsky, S. Zar and Tambura in Omdurman. Sudan Notes and Records, vol. 31, part I, June 1950, p. 73

(20) Ibid, p. 70, and Trimmingham J.S., Islam in the Sudan, Oxford 1949, p. 175

(21) Leslau, W. Ibid, p. 210

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